

THE
Anti-Slavery Reporter

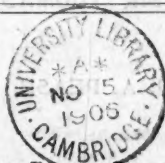
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1906.

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

AUGUST—OCTOBER, 1906.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

Slave Trading in Morocco.

IN further reply to the Society's letter to the Government on this subject, which was published in our last issue, the following communications from the Secretary of State have been received. We feel much encouraged by the knowledge that this matter is receiving the careful attention of the Government and of His Majesty's Minister at Tangier, and that practical steps have been taken.

FOREIGN OFFICE,

July 25, 1906.

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 3rd inst., I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to state for the information of the Committee that he has received a despatch from His Majesty's Minister at Tangier, reporting that the Italian Minister to Morocco, Monsieur Malmusi, when recently at Fez, handed to Sid ben Sliman a note communicating the declaration regarding Slavery read by Sir A. Nicolson at the Algeiras Conference and adopted by the delegates.

Mr. Lowther further states that the case of slave-dealing mentioned in the first paragraph of your letter of the 20th ultimo had been brought to his notice at the time, and had formed the subject of a representation to the Moorish Government, which had elicited orders from the Sultan to stop the sale of free-born children.

Mr. Lowther has now addressed a further letter to Sid ben Sliman requesting that the matter may again be submitted to the consideration of the Sultan, with a view of ensuring that the orders, issued by the late Sultan, forbidding both the public sale of slaves at all ports of Morocco and the transport of slaves by sea may be strictly observed.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) ERIC BARRINGTON.

The Secretary to the
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

FOREIGN OFFICE,

September 14th, 1906.

SIR,—With reference to Sir E. Barrington's letter of the 25th of July, I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to inform you that he has received a despatch from His Majesty's Representative at Tangier reporting that a Shereefian letter has been addressed to the Administrators of Customs at Tangier, and, as he understands, at all the other ports, reprimanding them for their inattention to their standing instructions which forbid the transport of slaves by sea, and giving them stringent orders to keep strict watch, and in the event of any person being discovered bringing slaves by sea, to punish him and free the slaves in his possession.

Mr. White has been requested to impress upon His Majesty's Consular officers at the Moorish ports that they should watch how the Sultan's orders are carried out, and report any cases which may occur of the transport of slaves by sea.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) F. A. CAMPBELL.

The Secretary to the

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The General Act of the Algeciras Conference has been published as a Parliamentary Paper,* together with Sir Arthur Nicolson's despatches relating to it, and despatches announcing the acceptance and ratification of the Act by the Sultan of Morocco, at Fez. The following is the text of the Declarations respecting slavery and the prisons which were submitted to the Conference by Sir Arthur Nicolson on April 2nd, and adopted unanimously, except by the Moorish delegate :—

"I venture to suggest to the Conference that the honourable delegates should express the hope that His Shereefian Majesty may be pleased to take into consideration the question of slavery in his Empire, and adopt such measures as His Majesty may see opportune, with a view to the limitation and gradual abolition of the system of slavery, and, above all, to the prohibition of the public sale of slaves in the cities of his Empire.

"I would, at the same time, beg the Conference to express the hope that His Shereefian Majesty may be pleased to continue to enforce the measures taken some years ago in order to remedy the formerly existing defects in the administration of the Moorish prisons."

More recently, slavery has formed the subject of a Note addressed to the Sultan by the Diplomatic Body at Tangier, based on the Algeciras Protocol, urging him to find a means of suppressing slavery in his Empire as early as possible.

* Cd. 3087.

In a recent report of the Anti-Slavery Society of France, reference is made to the Algeciras Conference, and to the action taken by Anti-Slavery Societies, in the following terms:—

"In conclusion I must mention the last anti-slavery event that has taken place in the international field, I mean the plenary sitting of the 2nd April, at the Algeciras Conference. On the 12th of March last, our colleagues in Rome, MM. Tolli and Simonetti, President and General Secretary, respectively, of the Anti-Slavery Society of Italy, wrote to us to communicate the contents of a note which they had that day handed to the Italian Foreign Secretary, to express to him the desire of that Society that stress should be laid at the Algeciras Conference on the complete abolition of slavery in Morocco, informing him at the same time that they had communicated these intentions to similar Societies abroad, with the view of inducing them to influence their respective Governments on this important question.

"As soon as the state of the work of the Conference permitted, we wrote to M. Bourgeois, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to call his kind attention to the action taken by our Italian colleagues, intimating that if their resolution exceeded the limits of what was actually realisable, the Powers might, perhaps, take measures to prevent the importation of slaves into Morocco, so as to limit slavery in the Sherrefian Empire strictly to the resources of the native population; the Minister was good enough to send a most courteous reply to our President, assuring him that, at Algeciras, France would not be unfaithful to her civilising and humanitarian mission.

"You know how Sir Arthur Nicolson, the British delegate, supported by M. Revoll, our representative at the Conference, brought forward a resolution, which was adopted by the Conference, tending to the complete abolition of slavery in Morocco. The note which we published on the subject, in our last Bulletin, caught the attention of our colleagues of the Anti-Slavery Society in London, who have just communicated to us the memorial which they handed in on the 23rd of January, to Lord Fitzmaurice, at the Foreign Office; we are glad to know that the initiative of the resolution, presented by Sir A. Nicolson, belongs to the *doyenne* of European Anti-Slavery Societies, while the idea of the collective action of the Powers is due to the Anti-Slavery Society of Italy; the theoretic importance of the event has made it worth while to state exactly the measure in which each shared in its accomplishment."

The report ends by stating that the year 1906 is worthy to be inscribed beneath the dates of the Conferences of Berlin and Brussels in the annals of modern anti-slavery.

In the quarterly Bulletin of the French Society, the text of our recent memorial to the Foreign Office is published, with a courteous reference to the efforts of English diplomacy for many years past to check the abuses of Morocco slavery, and a very kindly-worded recognition of our Society's endeavour to secure the raising of that question at the International Conference at Algeciras.

The Congo Question.

THE following correspondence has passed between the Anti-Slavery Society and the Foreign Office :—

LETTER TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

51, Denison House,
Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.

July 17, 1906.

To the Rt. Hon. Sir E. GREY, etc.

SIR,

I am directed to express to you the satisfaction which the Committee of this Society feels at the recent declarations of His Majesty's Government in regard to the administration of the Congo Free State, and the present attitude of that Government and its Sovereign.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has not of recent years approached His Majesty's Government on this question, for the simple reason that it has been ably and exhaustively taken up by other kindred Societies, especially by the Congo Reform Association.

My Committee has, however, followed the whole development of the Congo question with the closest interest, and is convinced that the existing *régime* establishes in the State a system of forced labour of the worst and most oppressive kind. The Anti-Slavery Society has indeed a special interest in the subject, in view of the attitude which it took up in 1884 in opposing the treaty then proposed with Portugal, and urging the claims of the International Association to be entrusted with control over the Congo basin, in the belief that the country would be freely opened up to trade, that the slave trade and slavery would be put down, and that the moral and material well-being of the native population would be thereby secured.

My Committee feels very strongly that so long as the present system of State exploitation is maintained, forced labour applied for the profit of concessionaire companies, and native troops employed to coerce the inhabitants, no promises of reform, however plausibly drawn, can be of any value, as their practical application would be impossible.

It is submitted that the refusal of the Government of the Congo State to admit that the Powers signatory to the Berlin Act have any right to intervene, however decisively the principles and obligations of that Act are contravened by the Congo State, reduces the pretensions of that Government to an absurdity. Still more startling is King Leopold's declaration of independence and disavowal of responsibility under the Act which accompanied the Decrees lately issued as a result of the second Commission.

In view of these indications of the attitude of the Congo Free State, expressing open defiance of the Powers, and in view also of the continued

systematically cruel treatment of the natives in vast territories of the Upper Congo, which has been in no way improved since the Commission of Enquiry, my Committee welcomes the assurance that His Majesty's Government intend to stand upon their rights, and earnestly hopes that they will no longer delay to take steps to exercise those rights.

I am to express the hope that it may be found possible to summon a conference of the Powers signatory to the Berlin Act to consider the non-fulfilment of the promises made at the initiation of the Congo Free State, and that British Consular jurisdiction may be established in the State.

On behalf of the Committee,

I have, etc.,

(Signed) TRAVERS BUXTON, *Secretary*.

REPLY.

FOREIGN OFFICE,

July 26, 1906.

SIR,—I am directed by Secretary Sir Edward Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant respecting the state of affairs in the Congo Free State.

In reply I am to state that the various questions to which you refer are, as your Committee is aware, engaging the earnest attention of His Majesty's Government.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) ERIC BARRINGTON.

Mr. Stannard, to whose trial and sentence on the charge of libelling M. Hagstrom, a Congo State official, we have already alluded, arrived in England in August from the Congo, and has issued a long statement, which has been published. It will be remembered that Mr. Stannard was one of those who gave important evidence before the Commission of Enquiry, which was sent out to investigate the state of things in the Upper Congo. Owing to delays, ingeniously arranged by the Congo State, the British representative was not present at the earlier sittings of the Commission, and the only Europeans present, in addition to the members of the Commission and the State officials, were Mr. Stannard and Mr. and Mrs. Harris. Mr. Stannard gave evidence as to the abominable system of the Abir Company, the raids made by their troops upon the people for rubber, and the "revolting and atrocious massacres and outrages" which accompanied them. A multitude of natives came as witnesses, and "the Commissioners were so fully satisfied of the appalling state of affairs, that they did not wait to hear more." Their report testified to the complete

truth of the terrible story which the missionaries had told of the dark deeds done in the country. Mr. Stannard had given evidence in particular regarding the savage outrages committed on the people of Bolima, the details of which were described by the chief, Lontulu, and several of his tribe, in which M. Hagstrom was implicated. The Englishmen fully believed that, according to assurances made to the British Government, the depositions would be published by the Congo Government, and the witnesses protected, and they sent home a summary of the evidence to the Congo Reform Association, confident that their statements would be fully borne out by the official publication. When, however, the British Vice-Consul asked for a copy of the depositions, his request was evaded, and the request of the British Government for their publication is still refused. The reason is, of course, obvious.

The testimony given before the Commission abundantly justified the worst charges that had been made, and the only course to be taken to prevent the truth from coming out was quietly to suppress the whole. This is the desperate course which the Congo Government decided to take. The principal actor in the massacres at Bolima was promoted, and Mr. Stannard was actually accused of criminal libel against this man, when the State Government have in their possession the depositions which would prove the so-called "libels" true up to the hilt.

At Mr. Stannard's trial, the Public Prosecutor made no attempt to deny the fact of the Bolima massacres; the case turned on the point whether or not the accused had accurately reported the evidence placed before the Commission. The chief Lontulu was "induced,"—after having undergone arrest and imprisonment for speaking the truth—to contradict his previous testimony, but as Mr. Stannard says:—

"In the face of this conspiracy, confronted at the trial with what seemed to be a determined effort to twist and distort every statement I made, my position would, nevertheless, have been perfectly secure had the *verbatim minutes of the Commission's sittings* been available to me. They were not; so that to all intents and purposes—Mr. and Mrs. Harris, who were present at the sittings of the Commission, being in England—my throat was legally cut before I entered the operating theatre."

The Congo State Government is very clever, and is playing for very high stakes. We cannot but think, however, that in this last instance, it has over-reached itself in the barefaced attempts to save its own face and suppress the truth at any cost. The British Government cannot acquiesce in proceedings so flagrantly unjust and illegal against a British subject, and we believe that the day of reckoning for the pirate State is drawing very near.

Slavery in Zanzibar.

It will be observed that some questions have been lately put in the House of Commons on the position in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and the continuance of slavery on the coast strip.

We would direct attention to Mr. Churchill's reply to Sir C. Dilke on the latter subject on the 20th July, which is of an encouraging nature, and we have good reason to hope that the Government have these matters at heart, and that it may not be long before some decided measures are taken in the direction of freedom.

With regard to the islands, Mr. J. W. Wilson, M.P., has received a reply from the Foreign Office to the questions which he put in Parliament in May last. A table sent by Mr. Cave, His Majesty's Agent at Zanzibar, shows the number of slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba freed by the Courts, and of those freed voluntarily by their masters, during 1904 and 1905, and also the number of labour contracts made by freed slaves in Pemba up to the end of 1905 and recognised by the Courts, to be as follows:—

SLAVES FREED IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

		Zanzibar.	Pemba.		Total.
1904	...	117	139	...	256
1905	...	71	226	...	297
					553

SLAVES FREED BY THEIR MASTERS VOLUNTARILY.

1904	...	130	18	...	148
1905	...	101	30	...	131
					279

LABOUR CONTRACTS MADE BY FREED SLAVES IN PEMBA AND RECOGNISED BY THE COURTS.

1902	...	448
1903	...	644
1904	...	91
1905	...	14
		1,197

Commenting on the marked diminution in the number of labour contracts made in Pemba (the plan was never introduced into the larger island), Mr. Cave writes that the system was first introduced in 1902 in the hope that it would prevent the freed slaves from moving about from one plantation to another, and so benefit both them and the employers, the freed slaves being induced to settle down on the land and acquire a personal interest therein, while the employers would have a constant supply of labour to depend upon. But after two years it was found that the contracts had

little effect; slaves were just as ready to break the written agreements as verbal ones. Appeals to the Court were of little avail, for a native sent back to a plantation in custody would run away again at the first opportunity, or, if he remained, do as little work as possible. For these reasons there has been a spontaneous reversion to the system under which the Arabs made their own agreements with the freed slaves, and there are now few applications for contract labour.

We cannot feel anything but satisfaction at the collapse of the contract labour system, for which Mr. Cave argued so strenuously in official despatches published at the end of 1902, and the advantages of which he urged so successfully on Mr. Rogers, the Sultan's First Minister, that verbal contracts and the payment of money wages to the freed slaves were discontinued.

We protested at the time that the only natural and satisfactory way of getting the freed slaves to work and of bringing about right relations between employers and employed was by the payment of money wages (in accordance with what Mr. Cave himself had recommended in 1900), feeling confident that the advantages put forward of a settled occupation and residence, a "methodical life," and a "contented mind" did not outweigh the obvious objection that such contracts were a step backward and would interpose difficulties in the way of real freedom. Another reason mentioned by Mr. Cave for the smaller number of labour contracts is the wholly satisfactory one that many of the freed slaves have acquired small holdings of their own and are consequently no longer available for employment elsewhere.

As to the statistics of slaves freed by the Courts in the last two years, the numbers are so paltry, especially in the larger island, that they are clear evidence of the utter inadequacy of the present machinery for conferring freedom on the slave population, and of the need for a radical change.

The Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee have been in communication with the Foreign Office as to the islands slavery, and a small private deputation from that body was received by Lord Fitzmaurice last month, who listened to their representations in detail, and has since assured them that His Majesty's Government were giving careful attention to the subject.

Mr. E. W. Brooks allows us to quote a few passages from the vigorous letter which he addressed to the Secretary of State previous to the interview.

After quoting one of the Clauses of the Emancipation Act of 1838 to the effect that

"From and after the first of August SLAVERY shall be, and is hereby
UTTERLY and FOR EVER ABOLISHED THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH COLONIES PLANTATIONS AND POSSESSIONS,"

the letter went on:—

"We acknowledge that many of the hardships of slavery have been gradually abated, but cannot agree that 'the only remaining recognition of slavery is, that a master cannot turn an existing slave adrift.' The degradation

remains, the servile spirit is maintained, the sin of holding our fellow men in bondage is continued. . . . Our aim has ever been, and will continue to be, to secure immediate and unconditional emancipation. We do not ask for, and can never be satisfied with, an ameliorated slavery. The way in which this has been promoted in Zanzibar and Pemba has provided a maximum of disturbance with a minimum of benefit. When a slave is there granted his so-called freedom, he is taken from his old master, and sent elsewhere at the will of the Official in charge. How much better would it be if the status of slavery were REALLY abolished and the freed slaves encouraged to remain where they are in the service of the same masters, but under conditions of freedom. Why, in this great domestic change, is the wish of the master alone considered, whilst to the welfare of the slave little or no regard is paid?

"What have the idle Arab masters done to entitle them to such consideration? The slaves, equally with them, are fellow subjects with ourselves of the freest nation in the world. We rejoice in our civil and religious liberties, and we desire their extension to all without distinction of Race or Colour."

Adverting to the question of monetary compensation, Mr. Brooks mentioned that the valuation of an able-bodied slave in Zanzibar and Pemba has now fallen to 15 or 20 rupees, and urged that it could not be this "contemptible sum" that stands in the way of emancipation.

"If you say," he continued, "that the slaves are a mean-spirited people, who are satisfied to remain in the condition of ameliorated slavery in which they now are, and even prefer it to the so-called freedom that is offered them, we do not care to dispute the argument. But what a proof is this of the degradation of the people, ground down by untold centuries of servitude, born almost without aspirations for freedom, and incapable of raising themselves in the scale of human development. . . .

"It was largely in consequence of the efforts of our Society that the late Lord Salisbury caused to be issued the Decree of 1897, received at first with high hope of its results, but in which we too soon realised we were to be greatly disappointed.

"We now turn with renewed hope to yourself . . . and our earnest prayer is that you will at once wipe out the stain of the remnant of slavery under British Rule."

The Zanzibar *Gazette* of July 11th reported the trial of one, Mamu Saleman Meman, on a charge of trafficking in slaves. The Counsel for the Crown decided not to proceed with the charge, as all the alleged slaves had had freedom papers made out for them, and two of them admitted that they received a small daily wage besides food and lodging. The Judge then allowed the charge to be withdrawn, both the girl witnesses stating that they had been well treated by their master and that they wished to return to him. But the Judge is reported to have made some strong remarks to the accused as to his engaging labour in German East Africa and making payment to the former master of the slaves instead of paying a regular wage to the worker;

and also as to keeping the freedom papers of these people instead of handing them to the freed slaves, explaining to them that they were free to enter service or not.

He stated that such contracts, although they might be perfectly valid according to the law in German East Africa, would not receive the support of the British Law Courts, but, on the contrary, would probably lead, as in this case, to the British subject being proceeded against for trafficking in slaves. A freedom paper was of very little good to a slave unless he knew that it existed and realised that by virtue of it he was no longer a slave.

All the witnesses in this case stated that they thought that they were still slaves.

Parliamentary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *July 17th.*

SLAVE TRADE IN MOROCCO.

MR. ASHLEY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the police which were to be appointed in the coast towns of Morocco on the recommendation of the Algeiras Conference would have power to stop the public sale of slaves in those towns.

SIR E. GREY. His Majesty's Government entertain no doubt that the police who are to be appointed in the coast towns of Morocco, being under the sovereign authority of the Sultan, will have power to carry out whatever instructions he may issue in regard to the prohibition of the public sale of slaves in those towns, and the attention of his Majesty's Minister will be called to this question.

MR. ASHLEY: Are we to understand that the police are not under the control of the Foreign Ministers, but under the control of the Sultan?

SIR E. GREY: If I remember rightly, the condition was that there were to be instructors appointed by the European Governments, but they were to be under the control of the Sultan.

August 2nd.

MR. ASHLEY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Foreign Ministers at Tangier had power to use the police, which are being formed under European instructors in the coast towns of Morocco, to stop the public sale of slaves in those towns.

SIR E. GREY: The European police to be formed in Morocco, being under the sovereign authority of the Sultan, will not receive directions from the Corps Diplomatique at Tangier. His Majesty's Minister at Tangier is fully aware of the importance which his Majesty's Government attach to the issue by the Sultan of stringent orders to the police in the coast towns for the suppression of the slave traffic.

ZANZIBAR.

July 20th.

SIR C. DILKE asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether he would be in a position to announce any decision as to the abolition of the legal *status* of slavery in the Zanzibar coast strip before the debate on the Colonial Office Vote.

MR. CHURCHILL: This matter is receiving the attention of the Secretary of State, who is most anxious to secure the abolition of the legal *status* of slavery at the earliest possible moment (cheers), but I am afraid that it will not be practicable to announce any decision before the debate on Tuesday next.



The Labour Question in the Transvaal.

ONE of the most important parts of the new Transvaal Constitution, as expounded in both Houses of Parliament on the last day of July, is that which relates to labour. The arrangements for recruiting Chinese coolies come to an end on November 30, and the existing Labour Ordinance will be abrogated by a clause in the Constitution, "after a reasonable interval." It will remain, then, with the people of the Transvaal, by their parliamentary representatives, to propose legislation for a further supply of Chinese if they desire it, but as the Constitution will provide expressly that "No law will be assented to which sanctions any conditions of service or residence of a servile character," this is an improbable contingency, for the Transvaal is not likely to consent to the importation of coolies under conditions of anything like free labour, which would enable them to take part in the trade and life of the community. We are heartily glad that this strong proviso against servile labour is to be inserted in the Constitution, and it is wholly consistent with the condition inserted in previous treaties between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic, forbidding slavery or anything partaking of the nature of slavery.

Any legislation which imposes disabilities on natives, as distinct from Europeans, is to be reserved for the Secretary of State.

Another satisfactory provision is that the recruiting monopoly of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association is to cease, and the Robinson group of mines is to be allowed equal recruiting facilities, which it is hoped will largely increase the supply of natives. In return, the Robinson group are surrendering 3,000 licenses for Chinese which they hold, and an experiment is to be tried at one of their mines of employing white labour under Mr. Creswell. But the difficulties are not over, and the recruiting monopoly is not yet overcome, for it appears that the Robinson Group have been refused licenses by the Portuguese authorities, and it is evident that "sinister influences" have been at work to prevent the breaking up of the monopoly. This is a matter which demands investigation and explanation.

In an extremely suggestive article which recently appeared in the *Morning Post*, the writer discusses the question of Chinese labour, which he declares was originally a temporary expedient, which came to be regarded as a party symbol. It is now improbable that Chinese labour will be continued, for the reasons which we have just mentioned, and it is necessary to face the fact that the only permanent solution of the labour problem lies in the employment of the natives. The writer is of opinion that much could be done by a careful study of the character and temperament of the different indigenous races. The lack of separation of the various races is the great obstacle to their profitable employment. The well-known Bechuana chief Khama refused to allow his young men to go as labourers to the mines for this reason.

"The system which herds the natives together indiscriminately deprives them of all their *morale* while they are at work in the mines; it also makes them troublesome to their tribe and chief when they return."

The force which more than anything else makes for the order and contentment of the native of South Africa is tribal law and custom, which has proved itself fully effective, but which is absent under the compound system. The writer proposes that for the compounds should be substituted locations in which practical autonomy could be granted, and he claims that this grant of autonomy and the separation of the tribes would attract many more natives to the mines and secure their good behaviour when there. He considers it probable that in this system the permanent remedy for shortage of labour, though not the quick remedy, might be found. Such a quick remedy was Chinese labour, but it was also a quack remedy, giving "immediate relief at the cost of a serious relapse." Forced labour and the raising of wages are impossible expedients, and the slow remedies must now be tried.

The article is especially interesting inasmuch as the writer has evidently been an advocate of Chinese labour, and does not write as a supporter of the present Administration, but he recognises facts, and has discerned the need for a more intelligent and sympathetic treatment of the native, even from an economic point of view.

The correspondence contained in the bulky Blue Book which was published on the Labour question towards the end of July,* dealt with a large number of points connected with the working of the Chinese Ordinances, and showed the magnitude and complicated nature of the problem with which the Imperial Government has had to deal. Of the menace which the presence of the Chinese has caused to the rest of the community there can be no doubt, but the Government does not seem to have been able to effect much to stop coolie outrages. A majority of the Special Committee of investigation urged the need of strengthening the control of the coolies by Europeans, of checking gambling and the opium habit, and recommended that the compounds should be surrounded by wire

* Cd. 3025.

fences. We are glad that the Imperial Government definitely refused to sanction further restriction of the labourers by physical barriers or by legal enactments.

Another point evidenced by these despatches was the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of getting at the truth as to alleged outrages on coolies, and even the prosecution of compound-managers and policemen known to be tyrannical and bullying has not hitherto been found practicable. The report of Mr. Jamieson, the Superintendent of Foreign Labour, on the abuses in the Consolidated Langlaagte Mines showed a deplorable state of things.

The question of repatriation was prominent in the Blue Book, the Government having endeavoured by proclamation to secure that no coolie honestly desiring to go home should be detained in the Transvaal against his will; under the first proclamation, however, although its posting caused great apprehension and alarm to the Chamber of Mines, no more than 200 coolies applied for repatriation. A larger number appear to have taken advantage of the second proclamation, which was somewhat more direct in its language.

The convictions and sentences on Chinese labourers for the five months' December to April showed a number varying from about 150 to 200 every month for serious offences—such as murder, housebreaking, assault and theft, while offences such as desertion and absence without permit brought the total of convictions up to 1,606 in January; in April they fell to 1,117. On May 31, no less than 1,311 coolies were in prison in the Transvaal.

The position taken up by the Government, in face of protests from the Transvaal mines, was clearly expressed in a despatch from Lord Elgin, dated June 16th:—

“Up to now there has been no shrinkage in the supply of unskilled labour, and the mining industry continues in a position to equal and to exceed its previous record in the output of gold. The policy of H.M. Government in regard to Chinese labour has been to suspend further importation, but not to cancel the licences already granted . . . In face of this fact, it is clear that the lack of unskilled labour is not the cause of diminution of employment in the colony. If causes are to be assigned to the want of confidence in rapid future expansion, to which a depletion of the population bears testimony, one of the most important seems undoubtedly to be the lack of success in controlling the Chinese labourers, which has given rise to strong feeling and to agitation.”

The number of Chinese labourers in the country on August 31 was 53,835, but the last batch under the existing Ordinance reached Durban on September 30.

The successful formation of a strong party, called the National Association, to oppose the further importation of Chinese indentured coolies,

seems to give hope that the end of the ill-starred "experiment" is very near.

LABOUR FROM BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

In reply to a telegram from the Commissioner of British Central Africa as to recruiting for the Transvaal from that country, the Secretary of State telegraphed on June 25 that recruiting was not to be continued unless the latest mortality returns of British Central Africa natives on the mines showed a material decrease. Recruiters were not to re-commence operations pending the Government's decision.



Abolition of Slavery in Barotseland.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Daily Telegraph* of September 5th sent an interesting account of a recent proclamation by King Lewanika against slavery in his dominions. The mission work of M. Coillard in North-West Rhodesia is well known, and the correspondent states that the great missionary and his colleagues have striven hard against the evils of slavery. In that country, as elsewhere, the British authorities, while firmly putting down slave-trading, have not found it possible to suppress the institution and customs of slavery at a blow, and it is extremely satisfactory that Lewanika should himself have been enlightened and courageous enough to declare its abolition.

The correspondent attributes the event in part to the influence of the Administration of the British South Africa Company, and in part to the impressions derived by the native King from his visit to England in 1902.

"To-day, the sixteenth of July, a proclamation abolishing slavery was read to the assembled nation at the capital town of Lealui, of which the following is a preamble :

"'I, Lewanika, Paramount Chief of the Barotse nation and subject tribes, do, with and by the advice and consent of my council, hereby proclaim and make known that we, of our own free will, in the cause of justice and progress, set free all slaves held by us, our indunas, and headmen.'

"An idea of the importance of this event may be gathered from the fact that it affects the inhabitants of a tract of country of over 20,000 square miles in extent, and finally abolishes slavery from one of the last corners of the British Empire in which it has flourished unchecked into the twentieth century.

"Early this morning large bodies of natives could be observed coming in from all directions to Lealui. As they gathered in groups in the large open space in front of the Khotla, or national council house, the onlooker could not fail to notice that something of importance was about to take place. Men hurrying hither and

thither, carrying reed mats and chairs; natives, apparently of importance, marshalling the late arrivals into some show of order; the town crier proclaiming something at the top of his voice, disregarded, as usual, by everyone; jesters, praisers, and other satellites of a native court served to entertain the expectant multitude.

"All eyes were turned towards a long line of chairs placed immediately in front of the chief's house, under the shade of some rubber trees. In the centre of this line stood Lewanika's gilded chair.

"Presently a party of missionaries arrived, who were ushered to the seats reserved for them on the left of the throne. All available space in front of the chairs, save a free passage through the centre, was rapidly filled by chattering natives, who, as custom directs, squatted on their haunches in the loose sand, for to remain standing would signify disrespect.

"A cloud of dust and the sound of approaching bugles heralded the coming of the Government officials, escorted by a detachment some fifty strong, of Barotse Native Police. The officials dismounted within the circle, amidst the usual salute of hand-clapping, which, on account of the numbers assembled, produced a truly deafening sound. This was the signal for the appearance of Lewanika, who had hitherto remained within the precincts of his house. He was dressed in gorgeous attire, designed by himself, when in England. He appears to have incorporated all the brilliant uniforms he observed at the Coronation, for his coat and trousers are heavily gold-laced, his hat resembles that of an admiral, his gilded sword is of the presentation kind, from his breast hangs a Coronation medal, and the *tout ensemble* is enhanced by a large pair of gilt box-spurs.

"He advanced a few paces to greet the officials, who took their places on his right. The police presented arms, which Lewanika acknowledged by raising his hat.

"The proceedings of the day were commenced by the Ngambela, or chief councillor, who exhorted the assembled throng to listen attentively to the proclamation about to be read. He was followed by the Secretary to the Administrator for Native Affairs, who congratulated Lewanika and the National Council on the great reform introduced this day. The proclamation was then read in the Sesuto language by the Rev. Adolphe Salla, the leading missionary resident in Lealui. Addresses were subsequently delivered by the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Kalonga (a councillor), the Ngambela and the Rev. Adolphe Salla. The official programme was terminated by a shoalela, or Royal salute, given by the assembled people. This salute consists of the words 'Yo sho,' repeated twice, and followed by hand-clapping. The effect of this is very impressive, and the sound produced resembles the approach, fall, and backwash of a mighty breaker on a pebble beach.

"The excited crowd produced the national drums, which have only hitherto been beaten on the return of the paramount chief from a journey, or on a declaration of war. Sticks were immediately forthcoming, and, amidst a wild dance, all visitors dispersed."

The French in West Africa.

M. ROUME, the Governor-General of French West Africa, recently made a notable speech at the national fête-day celebrations in July, on what had been achieved by France in Timbuktu, a summary of which was published in *The Times*. Only a few years ago Timbuktu, the famous trade metropolis of the centre of Africa, was also the most active centre of the slave trade. The French occupation has put an end to that traffic, and it is extending the *pax Gallica* throughout the vast and fertile territory of the Niger where formerly anarchy and brutality reigned. This work, however, is only the preliminary stage of the task France has set herself in West Africa. When France took possession of Timbuktu in 1894, the journey from the coast occupied, on an average, three months; now, by the help of a railway and steamboats, the distance is covered in 11 days, soon to be shortened to 8.

Successful endeavours have been made to persuade the nomad tribes that France is pacifically minded, as well as strong, and the Moorish and Touareg tribes on the left bank of the Niger have now become friends of France. Black Soudanese troops are employed to police the desert, and M. Roume looks forward to the pacification of the Sahara within a short time.

Very different is the position in the French Congo, where "Leopoldian methods" have been copied, and the country divided up into 44 concessions, which received full proprietorship of the produce for 30 years. The concessionaires have maltreated and robbed the established British traders, and constant litigation has taken place. As in the Congo Free State, the products of the soil have been judicially declared to be the sole property of the concessionaires, and the same result has followed; legitimate trade being ruled out, forced labour has become necessary. Unfortunately the British Government has taken no action to safeguard the principles of the Berlin Act, and prevent British commerce from being swept out of French Congo, and an arrangement has now been made by which the British merchants are to leave the country altogether, with compensation which is said to amount to a million and a half of francs.

The French Colonial Minister has spoken in promising terms of the reforms which he proposes to introduce in order to safeguard the rights of the natives in West Africa. Not only native property, but local customs and special religious ideas are to be respected. He will devote all his energies to the task of obliterating, little by little, the "sorrowful events which have taken place," and he will "break any official who commits abuses," however highly placed. The Colonial Minister continued:

"I have already given precise and severe instructions to that effect. Perhaps my tone has been harsh, but my office is far from the Colonies. I wished to be listened to, and I think I have been understood. We must not be called upon to register a single Colonial scandal."

It is very much to be hoped that these principles will be carried into effect in French Congo.

Native Troubles in Angola.

LETTERS from missionaries in Angola refer to a native rising having taken place in May last against the authorities of the Ambrizette district. All the telegraph wires were cut and communication stopped, Ambrizette was besieged by the natives for a week, and the lives of all the Portuguese threatened. Panic amongst the whites was general, and the serious situation was only relieved by the arrival of an English steamer, and later on of a Portuguese gunboat with soldiers and the Governor, to whom native grievances were stated, and further fighting was averted. The natives, as one missionary wrote, "have much cruelty to endure," and the recent trouble is said to have arisen through the action of a slave trader, who had been tying up some of the natives and exporting them. Another reason, also given in a message to the *West African Mail*, is that the chiefs situated at different places in this district have been catching natives and sending them to the Government to be made to serve as soldiers. These actions are said to have put the whole country into a state of chaos and upset all business.



Export of Slaves from Tripoli.

THE Anti-Slavery Society of Italy publishes particulars of a Turkish ship which left the port of Benghazi for Constantinople in July with six slaves on board. The Society's agent in Benghazi informed the Italian Consul, who telegraphed word of the fact to the Consul at Canea, and thence information was sent to the Consul-General at Smyrna, who reported it to the Turkish authority, and boarded the vessel as soon as it arrived in that port. Six young Soudanese were found on board, about 15 years of age, travelling with their respective owners, and as the answers received were not satisfactory, the party were landed and taken to the Konak, and subjected to questions by the Head of Police. The boys, who had been stolen and sold, knew nothing of either father or mother. Three of them already had the *teskiret* or freedom paper, and were liberated, while papers were made out in due form and given to the rest. They were then told that they were free to follow their masters or not at their own will.

It is satisfactory that such prompt action should be taken by the anti-slavery agents, and the case so readily taken up by the Italian Consuls. It is not stated, however, what became of the slaves when liberated, and it is difficult to know what they could do, black strangers in a strange land, but follow their masters wherever they chose to take them.

The Race Problem in the United States.

IN a striking article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for July, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell drew a very dark picture of the present position of the negro problem in the United States, both North and South. In the Southern States the race question is made a test in the light of which all other questions are viewed, and public opinion demands rigid orthodoxy on this subject.

"The South," says the writer, herself a coloured woman, "was never more hostile to the coloured man, as well as to his friends, and was never more determined to keep him as near the level of the brute as possible, than it is to-day."

"Legislatures in the Southern States are never more enthusiastic and industrious than when they are bent upon enacting measures for the purpose of repressing the coloured man's aspirations by law."

This obsession so weighs down the South that both the hands and mind of the people are paralysed by it; the intellectual faculties are dwarfed and technical skill is absent, in consequence of "the brain-blight, superinduced by the ban placed upon the freedom of thought."

The South is thus doing a grievous wrong to itself, as well as to the whole of America and the coloured people, by its implacability and resolute refusal to accept the result of the Civil War and the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Lynching is rife, even for trifling offences against the white man, and the Governor of South Carolina, in a recent message to the General Assembly, had to deplore the fact that, although an appropriation had been set aside at his request to apprehend lynchers, no convictions had been made. The law against murder is so laxly administered in the United States that, in three years (according to a statement made by Sir Conan Doyle in 1904 and corroborated by the Lord Chief Justice of England), 10,000 more lives were lost by murder and homicide than were lost by Great Britain in the Boer War.

The writer suggests that this "red record" may be in large measure accounted for by the impunity for crimes against coloured people in the South.

"Coloured men, women and children are being shot to death, flayed alive, and burned at the stake, while the murderers not only escape punishment as a rule, but are rarely, if ever, called to account."

The majority of white people in the South acquiesce in this state of things, because the intolerance of public sentiment demands passive obedience.

Mrs. Terrell describes the Convict Lease System, which obtains in nearly every Southern State, as a new form of slavery which is in some respects more cruel and more crushing than the old. The horrors exercised in these convict camps mainly affect the coloured people, but are not infrequently imposed upon white people also. Little better is the Contract Labour System

by which negroes are practically enslaved to the planter so long as they are in his debt, and methods are devised of keeping them in that condition. The whole coloured race is condemned for the sins of the few; their merits are denied and their failings and vices exaggerated; the dog is given a bad name and hanged accordingly.

Well might Mr. John Morley describe the negro problem as being as nearly insoluble as any that civilisation has to face.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Tuskegee Institute, in the "Black Belt" of Alabama, in which some 1,400 coloured students are being trained, was celebrated this spring. The excellent and exceptional work which is being accomplished at Tuskegee for the education and development of the negro race is now well known, and it has been brought about by a distinguished member of that race, Dr. Booker, Washington, of whom the *New York Globe* says: "It will be no surprise, when the value of the men of the present is properly assessed, if the common voice will declare Booker Washington to have been in one important respect the most useful man of his generation." He has preached the gospel of self-help to his people, and has put a new spirit of hope and courage into them. Dr. Washington has described how the Tuskegee School was started, with thirty pupils and an annual State appropriation of 2,000 dollars, without land or buildings. Now the total value of the property is nearly 500,000 dollars, and nearly 6,000 coloured men and women have received a full training in the Institute, while many more have had a share in its benefits.

The value of such educational work as is being done at the Institutes of Tuskegee and Hampton was tersely expressed by President Roosevelt in a recent address to the students of the latter institution. The only hope for the negro, he said, is education in its proper sense, not merely the turning out of people who can read, write and cipher, but do nothing practical, but such training as will enable men and women to earn their own livelihood and to fill a useful place in society. The President urged his hearers to war against criminality in their race with special zeal, because it is far more dangerous to the negroes than to any other people, on account of the race animosity and prejudice which negro criminality arouses and encourages. When once the average coloured man in any locality becomes thrifty, law-abiding and industrious, recognised to be a good intelligent worker and a desirable neighbour, the only practical step has been taken to do away with race antagonism.



Review.

ALGÉRIE—SAHARA—SOUDAN. Vie, Travaux, Voyages de Mgr. Hacquard, des Pères Blancs.*

This profusely illustrated and well-printed volume is full of interest of many kinds. It tells the story of a missionary who was a man in the fullest

* Paris: Berger-Levrault et Cie.

sense of the word ; a veritable apostle, an ardent philanthropist, an indefatigable worker. For readers of the *Reporter* the great interest of the book lies in its subject's close association with Cardinal Lavigerie, a kindred spirit to his own, and in his numerous references to slavery and the slave trade as he found them existing in Northern Central Africa.

Prosper Augustin Hacquard was a Lorrainer, born in 1860, in the village of Albestroff, just at the limit of the two languages, French and German. His surroundings and early characteristics led to his being early set apart for the priesthood ; his own ardent longings to his embracing the career of an African missionary, a decision taken in the first instance without his parents' consent, so that he embarked at Marseilles in 1878, as a runaway from his home. His noviciate was spent as a missionary student under the care of the White Fathers at their chief establishment, Maison Carrée, 10 miles from Algiers, after which he was for seven years a professor at the missionary college of Saint Eugène, close to the city. His engaging manners opened the way for friendly and familiar intercourse with the Arabic-speaking population, by which he soon became a master of their language and customs. At last, in 1891, he found his true calling, being appointed by Cardinal Lavigerie first superior of his newly-formed order, the "Armed Brethren of the Sahara."

The pages which record the history of this short-lived order are full of interest. Cardinal Lavigerie, in his anti-slavery zeal, determined to establish posts in various parts of the Sahara and the Soudan which should be cities of refuge from the slave-traders. "Each post was to comprise some fifty men under a head, called a commandant, aided by two lieutenants, one to direct farming operations, the other, military duties. Their object was chiefly to receive slaves taken by force, or who had escaped, from caravans engaged in the traffic. Their life was to be divided between prayer, work, and bearing arms, as they would be the defenders of their stations and the neighbourhood ; they were to maintain themselves by hunting and by the cultivation of the ground wherever the presence of water should permit" (p. 102).

Père Hacquard was just the man for such a place ; if ever anyone could have made a success of this strange attempt to reincarnate the spirit of Old Testament Judaism, doubtless it was he. But the experiment did not last long. Another of Cardinal Lavigerie's creations—for it will be remembered that the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference was the direct outcome of his propaganda—proved fatal to the Order of Armed Brethren. The Powers came to an understanding as to their spheres of influence in Africa ; France extended her borders to the south ; there was no longer a No Man's Land in Central Africa where the Armed Brethren could carry on an independent existence ; and the order was dissolved in October, 1892, only a few days before the death of its founder. Father Hacquard remained head of the

Mission at Wargla until July, 1893, when he was appointed to accompany a semi-commercial mission to the country of the Touaregs. In 1895, after the occupation of Timbuctoo by the French, he was placed in charge of the first missionary party sent to the Upper Niger, and from this time to his death by drowning, in April, 1901, at Ségou, on the Niger, his life was spent in ceaseless journeyings for this purpose. He was consecrated at Paris in August, 1898, as Bishop of Rusicada (Philippeville) and Vicar Apostolic of the Sahara and Soudan.

Such is an outline of the career described in this volume, whose author, Abbé Marin, has had the good sense to let Bishop Hacquard generally speak for himself; for he was a charming letter writer, and his descriptions of scenes and conversations are vivid. Before giving one or two extracts from his own pen, specially bearing on slavery, we must quote from the preface by Commandant Hourst, of the French Navy, with whom Father Hacquard made a memorable journey of exploration down the Niger in 1896. After telling how they first met on the way up to Timbuctoo, and how an hour's intercourse with the valiant missionary had nerved his energies afresh for the task of which he had almost despaired, M. Hourst thus renders homage to the share of his departed comrade in the success of the voyage:—

"Behind us, the most diverse tribes, Songhays, Peuls, Touaregs, must still be telling one another as they sit before their huts in the moonlight, or around their camp fires, the story of the three strange boats, navigated by white men, which, coming from the north, disappeared to the south, and of which nothing more has been heard. One of my greatest pleasures, one of the things I am most proud of is, that in these tales, in which doubtless imagination has already added a legendary colour to the truth, the white men cannot assuredly be represented as unjust or sanguinary. Our voyage did not cost a single human life; in spite of suspicion and hostility, we succeeded in passing everywhere in peace, without fighting or violence.

"It would be altogether unjust to attribute to myself the merit of this result. Certainly, I claim my share in the success of the expedition. I did my best; all the others likewise. But the spirit of patience, of quiet strength without bullying, of kindness without weakness, certainly emanated from Father Hacquard. Several times, harassed by provocations and ill-will, I came very near to using arms. He was always able to keep me back.

"This was, moreover, supreme skill. In exploration, whilst an act of force may sometimes break down the obstacle which opposes progress, it always stirs up fear and hatred before you. The road is closed; you have to go on shedding blood over and over again; and if you do not perish in one of the hundred battles that you have to deliver you leave behind you tribes more hostile to France, to civilisation, to humanity, but whom it was your very object to reconcile to these."

Would that all explorers had taken to heart this truth, or had been accompanied by a Father Hacquard to teach them the art of conciliation!

Here is a description by the Bishop himself of the methods of slave dealers:—

"From the Benena to the Mossi we are in a country of famine; there is barely to be found a little grain at Sono, at prices beyond the reach of the poor. Locusts ravaged everything last year (1898); the unfortunate Bobos wander in the forest seeking a few roots, green fruits, and leaves of trees. The hardiest can stand this régime; but how many perish every day! How many others disappear, carried off by the slave drivers. These latter, under the guise of inoffensive *dioulas* (pedlars), go through the country, tempt poor children by showing them a little food, draw them aside, and then seize them and carry them away to sell. The bait is obvious; but hungry people don't think much about prudence! For ages past the devil has taken humanity by the same methods, and he constantly succeeds; his creatures do the same" (pp. 542-3).

The ransoming of slaves, as practised by some Catholic missions, lends itself to serious abuses, and our Society has had to protest against it. But we do not think exception can be taken to the procedure described in the following passages of a letter addressed to his Superior,

"Another means which will certainly succeed better (than the purchase of Mossi children in their own country) is to profit by every opportunity in this place (Ségou) of redeeming slaves of the Mossi race and returning them to their country as they become capable of doing good there; we have already ten, of different ages, but selected for the object in view. . . . I believe I am carrying out your Eminence's intentions in not making of our anti-slavery efforts a merely humanitarian work, restoring a slave to liberty, but also a Catholic work, by directing it in the way most efficacious for the spread of the faith; moreover, this is the best way of stopping slavery at its source" (p. 606).

Further on in the same letter we read:

"The famine has given us the opportunity of exercising charity and combating slavery in a new form, that of 'engagements.' When a family is badly off, it can borrow money by giving to the lender, as a pledge, either a slave or a child of an age to work; so far there is nothing but what is justifiable. But abuses are not slow to appear; if the borrower is poor, instead of offering him 30 francs they will offer him 50 or 60; the temptation is strong and is almost always yielded to, the unfortunate borrower forgetting that he will never be able to return the money, and, if needful, accidents will be brought about which will prevent him from releasing his child. Thus the lender becomes the possessor of a real slave, for whom he has paid a half or a third of his value, and who by his labour will bring in more each year as his strength develops. . . . We have received 58, returning them to their families as soon as they could be fed."

There are, of course, some things in this book which a Protestant reader must regret, some which may shock him; and an Englishman will find some traces of prejudice against his own country. But there are so many other things to be heartily admired that these can be passed by. On the whole, we have a picture of one who was a worthy successor of St. Francis Xavier.

J. G. A.